Difficulties of Sanskrit *drapsá-* 'drop' from Proto-Indo-European **dherebh-* / **dhrebh-*(*so-*): 'analogical (original) *ps*'?

Dr. Mirushe Hoxha,
Faculty of Philology "Blaze Konseki," "Ss. Cyril and Methodius University" (UKIM), North Macedonia

The second opinion of Mayrhofer (1992, pp. 754-755) on Sanskrit (Skr.) *drapsá-* differs from his first opinion on this word (1963, pp. 71-72). In his second etymology, Mayrhofer (1992, ibid.) traces back the original meanings of Skr. *drapsá-* to Proto-Indo-European (PIE.) **dreb-* 'to tremble, quiver'; under one condition, Avestan (Av.) *drafša-*, the equivalent of Skr. *drapsá-*, is from PIE. **dreb-* as well (ibid., p. 754). This marks the scholar's withdrawal of his first opinion on the different meanings of Skr. *drapsá-* from more than one older root, its meaning 'drop' from PIE. **dhrebh-so-* (Mayrhofer, 1963, ibid.). Main references of the old etymology of Mayrhofer (ibid.) are Uhlenbeck's (1898/1899, p. 131) reconstructed **dhrabzha-*, and Pokorny's (1959, p. 257) PIE. **dherebh-* 'to harden'. The present study aims to illuminate an issue that is missing from the debates: meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá-* from PIE. **dherebh-* / **dhrebh-so-* / **dhrabzha-* results with the origin of its cluster *-ps-* from an 'analogical original *ps*' alternating with 'analogical *ps*', while the 'analogical (original) *ps*' in Skr. *drapsá-* contradicts the most attested meaning of this word, viz. 'drop'. Unfortunately, we still prefer to refer to the old etymology of Pokorny (ibid., 257; 211); consequently, etymology of Av. *drafša-* (out of it Middle Persian *drafš*, New Persian *derafš*) remains rather floating. Arguments on the doubtfulness of 'analogical (original) *ps*' in Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' serve also as an introduction to the plausibility of Av. *drafša-* and Skr. *drapsá-* from PIE. **dreb-* (from PIE. **der-*3 'to run') + **-s-*, as opposed to their equally doubtful origin from PIE. **drep-* (from PIE. **der-*4 'to cut') + **-s-*.

Keywords: etymology, *drapsá-*, **dherebh-*, **dhrebh-so-*, **dhrabzha-*, 'analogical (original) *ps*', **drep-*, **dreb-*, *drafša-*.

1. Introduction

According to Pokorny (Pok.) (*IEW* I [1959], p. 211; 257), different meanings of "Skr. *drapsá-ḥ*" are from more than one older root. Meaning "banner (?) / Banner (?)" of Skr. *drapsá-*, "banner" of Av. *drafša-* (> MP. *drafš-* > NP. *derafš*) (the equivalent of Skr. *drapsá-*) is from PIE. **drep-* (*-p-* formant of **der-*4) 'to cut, split, skin' / schinden, die Haut abziehen, absplaten, splaten' (ibid., p. 211; 206).[1] Meaning 'drop / Tropfen' of Skr. *drapsá-* is from PIE. ***dherebh-*** 'to harden' / gerinnen, gerinnen machen, ballen, dickflüssig' (ibid., p. 257); reference is "WP I 876" (ibid., p. 258). Amongst cognates of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop': Greek *τρέφεσθαι, τετροφέναι* 'curdle, be firm'/ gerinnen, fest sein', *τρόφις* 'fat, strong, big / feist, stark, groβ', *τροφαλίς, -ίδος* 'fresh cheese, coagulated milk / frischer Käse, geronnene Milch' etc. (ibid., p. 257).

Note that in Walde & Pokorny I (WP I) p. 876 (i.e., the reference of Pok. /ibid., p. 258/ for Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop'), the meaning 'to harden / gerinnen, gerinnen machen, ballen, dickflüssig' belongs to root ***dhrebh-*2**, while root ***dhrebh-*1** means 'to crush, grind / zerbrechen, zermalmen' (ibid., p. 875). This distinction is revised in Pok.'s *IEW*, wherein

[1] In the *Revised Edition of Julius Pokorny's IEW* (2007, p. 613) (ed. A. Lubotsky), root "**der-*" with the meaning "to cut, split, skin (*the tree)" (ibid.) is not noted as in the original version of Pok. (ibid.), viz. as **der-*4.

root **dhrebh*- (undivided in *1* and *2*) means 'to crush, grind / zerbrechen, zermalmen'[2], while root **dherebh*- means 'to harden'. In WP I p. 876, in the frames of **dhrebh*-$_2$ 'to harden', is etymology of Uhlenbeck (*KEWAS* [1898/1899] p. 131) for the meaning 'drop / Tropfen' of Skr. *drapsá*-. Therefrom, the reference "WP I 876" in Pok.'s *IEW* I p. 258 points to the opinion of Uhlenbeck (ibid.) on the origin of the meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá*-.

Mayrhofer's first opinion on Skr. *drapsá*- is in his *KEWA* II (1963) pp. 71-72. In this source, meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá*- ("*drapsáḥ*$_1$") is from PIE. ****dhrebh***- / ****dherebh***- (ibid.). The opinion is formulated in brackets: "vielleicht **(als ****dhrebh-so-***)** [emphasis added] zu gr. *τρέφω* mache dicht, lasse gerinnen (…)" (ibid., p. 71), and with references: "WP I 876", viz. PIE. **dhrebh*-$_2$ 'to harden'; "P 257", viz. PIE. **dherebh*- 'to harden'; and, "Wack. II/2 922" (Mayrhofer, ibid., p. 72).

References of Mayrhofer (ibid.) 'WP I, p. 876' and 'Pok. I, p. 257' point to the etymology of Uhlenbeck (*KEWAS* [1898/1899], pp. 131-132) for Skr. *drapsá*- 'drop'. Uhenbeck's (ibid., p. 131) reconstructed form ****dhrabzha***- is implied yet it does not figure in WP I (ibid.), Pok. (ibid.), and Mayrhofer (ibid.). Uhlenbeck (ibid.) notes: "**drapsás** m. tropfen, vielleicht aus ****dhrabzha***- zu einer idg. wz. ****dhrebh***- [emphasis added] (…)" (p. 131). Meaning of the root **dhrebh*- is absent in Uhlenbeck (ibid.); Skr. *drapsá*- is related to Lithuanian *drebiù*, Greek *τρέφεται* 'coagulated' etc. (ibid., pp. 131-132).

In sum, Uhlenbeck (ibid.) suggests the **dhrabzha*- from **dhrebh*-, Mayrhofer (ibid.) suggests the **dhrebh-so*- from **dhrebh*- / **dherebh*-, and Pok. (ibid.) suggests the **dherebh*-. The meaning 'to harden' firstly belongs to root **dhrebh*-$_2$ (WP I, p. 876), then this meaning is transferred to root **dherebh*- (Pok. *IEW* I, p. 258). Uhlenbeck (ibid.), Mayrhofer (ibid.), and Pok. (ibid.) do not elaborate details of the derivation of Skr. *drapsá*- 'drop' from **dhrabzha*- / **dhreb-so*- / **dhrebh*- / **dherebh*-. Details of this derivation are related to the origin of cluster *-ps*- for the meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá*-. This origin, which has been omitted from hitherto discussions, appears problematic. As such, it reaffirms the implausibility of Skr. *drapsá*- 'drop' from a PIE. root with final aspirate **-bh*-, as well as Skr. *drapsá*- 'banner' and Av. *drafša*- 'banner' from PIE. **drep*- (< **der*-4) 'to cut'.

We shall proceed as follows: firstly, we shall decipher the origin of cluster *-ps*- of Skr. *drapsá*- 'drop' from PIE. root with final aspirate **-bh*- + **-s*-, namely, the 'analogical *ps*' (2). Then we shall explain why in the case of Skr. *drapsá*- 'drop' from **dhrebh-so*- / **dhrabzha*- / **dherebh*- the origin of its cluster *-ps*- results with an 'analogical original *ps*' alternating with 'analogical *ps*'. This will confront us with the crucial implication of the derivation of Skr. *drapsá*- 'drop' from **dhrebh-so*- / **dhrabzha*- / **dherebh*-: Is it plausible to assert that primary meaning of Skr. *drapsá*- is 'banner', its secondary meaning 'drop' (*sic!*)? (3). The implausibility of this implied assertion reconfirms that the original meanings of Skr. *drapsá*- and its Av. equivalent *drafša*- are from one certain PIE. root, viz. **dreb*- 'to tremble, quiver' (< **der*-3 'to run') + **-so*- (> *-sa*-); origin of cluster *-ps*- of Skr. *drapsá*- (original meanings) and of cluster *-fš*- of Av. *drafša*- (original meanings) from 'original *ps*' (4). Finally, we shall summarize the discussed topic (5).

[2] PIE. **dherbh*- 'to work' (""dreb, kräftig" und "arbeiten" / 'rough, strong; to work") is introduced in Walde & Pok. I (WP I) p. 863, and WP II p. 631. According to the "Revised Edition of Julius Pokorny's *IEW*" (2007, p. 680), from root **dherebh*- 'to harden' is root **dherbh*- (*dherəbh*-?) 'to work'.

2. Deciphering origin of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from ***dhrebh-so-* / ***dhrabzha-* (****dherebh-*)**

Phoneme *-*a-* and cluster *–*bzh-* in Uhlenbeck's (ibid.) **dhrabzha-* indicate that the reconstructed **dhrabzha-* belongs to Proto-Indo-Iranian (PIn.Ir.), most probably continuing Indo-Iranian (In.Ir.). In Mayrhofer's (ibid.) **dhrebh-so-*, the *–so-* should be the 'original' desiderative marker, changed to *–sa-* in (P)In.Ir.

The form ****dhrebh-so-*** fulfills conditions for the activation of the Bartholomae's Law, according to which in an environment 'aspirate + *s* (< PIE. **s*) (or another stop)', the aspirate (in this case, *–bh-*) voices the last element (in this case, the *–s-* of *–*so-*); the aspiration goes to the last element where it is preserved in Skr., but lost in Iranian (cf. Beekes, 1988, p. 75, nr. 32d). It results that Hoffman-Forssman's (1996) statement "*-bh-* + *-s-* > PIn.Ir. ****bzh*** (…)" (p. 90, §62) confirms Uhlenbeck's (ibid.) form **dhra**__**bzh**__**a-* (with preserved aspiration in the *–zh-*) from **dhrebh-*. At this point, Mayrhofer's (ibid.) **dhrebh-so-* appears complementary to Uhlenbeck's (ibid.) **dhrabzha-*; it explains that **dhrabzha-* is obtained from **dhrebh-so-* with the activation of the Bartholomae's Law.

It shall be noted that PIE. ***-bhs-*** (< *-*bh-* + *-*s-*) gave **GAv**. ***-bž-***, **Skr**. ***–ps-*** (cf. Beekes, ibid.). Example of this change in Skr. is ***dipsa-*** 'seek to deceive'. Let us focus briefly on this Skr. instance and its Av. equivalent to retrieve the clear origin of this Skr. cluster *ps*.

The In.Ir. **d*^{h}*ab*^{h}*-* 'to deceive' had the desiderative stem *di-d*__***b*^{h}-*s***__*a-* that gave *di*(*d*)__***bž*^{h}***__*a-* out of it Av. ***diβža-***, Skr. ***dipsa-*** 'seek to deceive' (Skjaervo, 2007, p. 63). In the words of Jackson (1892), "Av. √*dab-* 'deceive', desid. GAv. ***di-w-ža-*** (< *di-*^{d}*bh-ža* §89) 'seek to deceive' = Skt. *dipsa-*" (p. 193, §700). Apparently, in the formulation "(…) *di-db*^{h}*-sa-* > *di(d)bž*^{h}*a-* > OYAv. *diβža-* 'seek to deceive' (but OInd. *dipsa-* with elimination of *ž*), Skjaervo (ibid.) hints the derivation of cluster *ps* in Skr. *dipsa-*, viz. "with elimination of *ž*". According to Kellnes (1984), cluster ***-ps-*** in Skr. ***dipsa-*** is obtained by analogical change / replacement: "root *dab*^{h} 'deceive': *diβža-* < **di(d)βža-* (by ru[p]ki: **di-d*__***b-ža***__*-* < **di-d*__***b*^{h}***__ **+ *sa***. **In OIA** [Skr.], **the group *bž* was replaced by *ps*: *dipsa-*** [emphasis added])" (p. 196).[3]

[3] In the formulation "(but OInd. *dipsa-* with elimination of *ž*)" (Skjaervo, ibid.), certain details remain rather unexplained. If we deal **only** "with elimination of *ž*" (in fact, *ž*^{h}) in *di*(*d*)__***bž*^{h}*a-***__, then, to obtain cluster *ps* of *dipsa-*, we have two options: a) Less probable but imposed by the formulation: to conjecture that "with elimination of *ž*" means that the *-*s-* was inserted between the *-b-* and *-a-* this resulting with ***di*(*d*)__***bsa-***__, ***dibsa-*; then, cluster ***-bs-* has changed to ***-ps-*. What would be the motive of the insertion of the ***-s-* between ***-b-* and ***-a-* in ***dibsa-*, and which is the origin of this inserted ***-s-*? b) Somewhat making sense yet remaining problematic: the formulation "with elimination of *ž*" implies loss of final *-a-* of *di*(*d*)__***bž*^{h}*a-***__ + *-sa-* (desiderative marker), i.e., *di*(*d*)__***bž*^{h}~~*a*~~-***__ + *-sa-* out of it ***di*(*d*)__***bsa-***__, ***dibsa-*; then follows the change of ***-bs-* into ***-ps-* with result *dipsa-*. In this constellation, the '+ *-sa-*' is necessary and it should be the desiderative marker, because we are dealing with a desiderative example. If we do not presume that the '+ **-sa-*' is the desiderative marker, then the affixed element should be '*-*s-* + *-*a-*'. In this case, the origin of the '*-*s-* + *-*a-*' remains undecipherable. However, if we assume that the *-*sa-* is desiderative marker, then it remains rather unclear why the 'desiderative' was lost *to be* again obtained, i.e., why it was not preserved. This unclearness results from the fact that *di*(*d*)__***bž*^{h}*a-***__ is from desiderative stem *di-db*^{h}*-sa-*; "with the elimination of *ž*" in *di*(*d*)*bž*^{h}*a-* the 'desiderative' was also eliminated, then the 'next desiderative' was obtained with the '+ *-sa-*'. Finally, if "(but OInd. *dipsa-* with elimination of *ž*)" (Skjaervo, ibid.) points to the derivation of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *dipsa-*, and it means, in fact, elimination of *-bž-* in *di*(*d*)*bž*^{h}*a*, then the statement of Skjaervo (ibid.) does not differ from the statement of Kellens (ibid.). If this is the case, then the difference between formulation of Skjaervo (ibid.) and on the other hand of Kellens (ibid.) is that the formulation of Kellens (ibid.) is clear.

Based on the clear formulation of Kellens (ibid.), it can be concluded that the Skr. distinguishes an 'analogical *ps*'.[4] Kellens (ibid.) does not suggest from which model might have been taken over the 'analogical *ps*' in Skr. *dipsa-* 'seek to deceive'; as far as I am aware, no reference addresses this issue of Skr. *dipsa-*.

To sum up. Cluster *ps* of Skr. *dipsa-* 'seek to deceive' (< *di-dbh-sa-*) and on the other hand cluster *ps* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from **dherebh-* (Pok., ibid.) / **dhrebh-so-* (Mayrhofer, ibid.) / **dhrabzha-* (Uhlenbeck, ibid.) derive from the same environment, viz. *-bh-* + *-so-* / *-sa-*.

3. **The 'analogical original *ps*' / 'analogical *ps*' in Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from **dhrebh-so-* / **dhrabzha-* / **dherebh-*: Implications**

PIE. **-bhs-* (< **-bh-* + **-s-*) gave Skr. *ps* (cf. Beekes, ibid.) with replacement of the group *-bž-* (following the group *-bhs-*) with the group *-ps-* (cf. Kellens, ibid.). It follows that cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* from ****dhrabzha-*** (Uhlenbeck, ibid.) from ****dhrebh-so-*** (Mayrhofer, ibid.) / from ****dherebh-*** (Pok., ibid., p. 257) is obtained by analogical change:

PIE. **dherebh-* / **dhrebh-* + **-so-* > **dhrebh-so-* > (P)In.Ir. **dhrabh-sa-* > (P)OInd. **dhrabzha-* > **drabž(^{h})a-*; then, in OInd. cluster *-bž-* (in **drabž(^{h})a-*) was replaced by cluster *-ps-* giving the final form *drapsá-* 'drop'.

Two implied conclusions result, and in both conclusions a problematic detail that has failed to be noticed is illuminated.

One conclusion is that cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from **dhrabzha-* from **dhrebh-so-* / **dherebh-* (+ **-so-*) **is** traced back to 'original *ps*', because it is taken over most probably from the meaning 'banner' of Skr. *dra**ps**á-* **itself from 'original *ps*' (**-*p*- + **-*s*-)**, by default, from **dre**p***- (< **der-*4) 'to cut' (cf. Pok. ibid., p. 211) + **-***s**- (< PIE. **s*). Most probably from the *-ps-* of the meaning 'banner' of Skr. *drapsá-*, because "apart from the model analogical change must also have a motive" (Beekes, 2011, p. 80). What would be the **motive** of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' to take over the *-ps-* from Skr. *dispa-* 'seek to deceive' (with an unknown model from which it has taken over cluster *ps*, or, eventually, from another unknown model), in circumstances in which the same Skr. *drapsá-* means also 'banner'?

The other conclusion is that cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from **dhrabzha-* from **dhrebh-so-* / **dherebh-* (+ **-so-*) **is** 'analogical *ps*' yet **not** 'analogical original *ps*' because the **locus** of 'originality' (original 'first source') of this Skr. *-ps-* **is not** in **-bzh-* or *–bž-*, but it is most probably **in** the *–ps-* of *drapsá-* 'banner' from **(dre)**p***- (+ **-***s**-).

The problematic detail is this:

If cluster *ps* of the meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá-* is from 'original *ps*' because it was taken over most probably from cluster *ps* of the meaning 'banner' of the same Skr. *drapsá-* itself from 'original *ps*' (**dre**p***- + **-***s**-), then this implies that **firstly has evolved meaning 'banner' of Skr. *drapsá-*, secondly meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá-*** (*sic!*).

This problematic implication is unavoidable, because firstly must evolve the 'model' (= 'original *ps*' of the meaning 'banner' of *drapsá-*) which is 'taken over *by* …' (= 'analogical original *ps*' of the meaning 'drop' of *drapsá-*). The reverse is impossible. To assert (= implied conclusion, 'analogical original *ps*') that firstly has evolved meaning

[4] On Skr. cluster *ps* from 'original *ps*', cf. Jackson (ibid., p. 49 §144). Instance is Skr. *drapsá-* with an undefined meaning, with its Av. equivalent *drafša-* 'banner' (ibid.).

'banner' of Skr. *drapsá-* and secondly meaning 'drop' of Skr. *drapsá-* is implausible, because an abundance of evidence does **not** point to this (implied) assertion. The other implied conclusion, viz. 'analogical *ps*' (yet not 'analogical original *ps*') in the origin of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' due to the locus of originality of this *-ps-* which is not in **-bzh-* or **-bž-* but it is in the *-ps-* of the meaning 'banner' of Skr. *drapsá-* traced back to 'original *ps*' (by default, from **drep-* + **-s-*) would have made sense only if primary meaning of this word is 'banner', its secondary meaning 'drop'.

Therefrom, the crucial implication of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from **dhrabzha-* from **dhrebh-so-* / **dherebh-* (+ **-so-*) is the answer to the question: **Is it plausible to assert that primary meaning of Skr. *drapsá-* is 'banner', its secondary meaning 'drop'**? **Answer: It is not plausible.**

Skr. *drapsá-* is 'banner' at RV[5] 4.13.2, adjective *drapsínaḥ* is both 'bearing banners' and 'pouring out drops' at RV 1.64.2 (cf. Renou, 1962, p. 64[6]; Gonda, 1975, p. 243), but *drapsá-* "is more commonly attested in the meaning 'drop, droplet', and in fact refers to the drops of *soma-*" (Schwartz, 1989, p. 109). In the hymns of Agny, god of fire, Skr. *drapsá* 'drops of soma' can assume secondary meaning of 'spark' (Renou, 1964a, p. 96)[7], and "it is even possible (I shall not stress the point) that at Yasna 10.14 *drafša-* echoes an old word-play on 'droplet' (of *sauma*) and 'fluttering, trembling'" (Schwartz, 1989, p. 109), rather than "drops of milk?" (cf. Geldner, 1877, p. 153).

4. Skr. *drapsá-* and Av. *drafša-* from PIE. **dreb-* 'to tremble, quiver' (< **der-*3) 'to run'

The second opinion of Mayrhofer (*EWA* I [1992], pp. 754-755) on Skr. *drapsá-* differs from his first opinion on this word. Referring to Flattery-Schwartz (1989, pp. 108-109), Mayrhofer (ibid.) withdraws his first opinion on Skr. *drapsá-* from ****dhrebh-so-*** (ibid., *KEWA* II [1963], pp. 71-72)[8]; in Mayrhofer's *EWA* I p. 754, original meanings of Skr. *drapsá-* are from one older root, viz. from PIE. **dre**b**-* 'to tremble, quiver' (< **der-*3 'to run') + **-s-* (viz. **dreb-s-* /ibid./).

In the view of Schwartz (ibid.), "(…) the entire range of forms in Indic *draps-*, Iranian *drafš-* may be relegated to a single etymon with meaning **'to be in agitated motion'** [emphasis added]" (p. 110). Av. *drafša-*, *drafšaka* 'flag', Armenian (loan from Iranian) *draušak* 'streamer on a crown', Skr. *drapsá-* are semantically parallel to Av. *dwō.ža-* (*dwaža-*) 'to flutter', Indic *dhvaja-* 'banner' (ibid.). Parallel to the developments of *drafša-* *'be in agitation, shine' and *'flutter' would be Sogdian *ərδēf-* (Manichean *ʾrδyf-*, S. *ʾrδyp-*) 'to shine' and Khotanese Saka *drāh-* 'to fly' (< *'flutter the wings' and/or 'dart about'); both Sogdian *ərδēf-* and Khotanese Saka *drāh-* go back to a single stem, viz. Old Iranian **drāfaya-*, wherein the fricative ***f*** is probably from the influence of "*drafša-* < *drapsa-*" (ibid.).

---

[5] "RV" Rig Veda, ancient Indian collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymns.

[6] "1.64.2 (…) *drpasá* (…) Old. Admet ici le double sens "goutte" et "drapeau" et allègue 4.13.2. (Renou, ibid., p 64).

[7] "*drapsá*, seul ex. direct pour "étincelles", mais indirectement aussi 10.11,4 (hy. à Agni, l'allusion prédominante étant aux "gouttes" du *soma*). Il s'agit d'une déviation sémantique isolée en partant de "goutte" (terme limité au cycle du soma. Cf. ad 8.19,31." (Renou, ibid., Hymnes à Agni, p. 96).

[8] "Nicht besser *d°* 'Banner' zu *drāpi-* (gegen KEWA II 72, 77, mit Lit.); Herleitung von *d°* 'Tropfen' aus iir. **drabzhá-* (~ Gr. *τρέφω*, AiGr I 242, II 2, 922, KEWA II 71f., Bur, Skr 163) ist lautlich wierlegbar, wenn Y 10,14 *drafša-* 'Tropfen' zu sichen ist. – Erwägung germeinsamen Ursprungs von *d°* 'Tropfen' und *d°* 'Banner' auch bei EilMeth 27 (wo weitere Überlegungen; mit Lit.). [Wesentlich jetzt T. Oberlies, MSS 51 (1990) 153 ff., 176].

Arguments of Schwartz (ibid., p. 13; pp.105- 152)[9] bring conclusion that Av. *drafša-*, Skr. *drapsá-* are from ***drapsa-*** from earlier ****drab-sa-*** from **PIE**. ***dreb-***; **Iranian** root ****drab-*** is from PIE. ****dreb-*** (ibid., p. 110) from **der*-3 'to run'. Cognates: Lithuanian *drebẽti* 'to tremble', Old English *trepan* 'to tread', Dutch *trappen* 'to stomp', Middle High German *trampfen* 'to run' "cf. relationship of Old Indic *sphur-* 'tremble, dart', etc. to Iranian *spar-* to tread, kick', etc." (ibid.).

The translation that Schwartz (ibid., p. 13) suggests for a passage of Yasna 10.14 differs substantially from the translation of Bartholomae-Wolff (1910). In the view of Schwartz (ibid., p. 110), meanings 'trembling, convulsion(s)' of *drafša-* suit the phrase with genitive *gaoš*, viz. *gaoš drafšō*, in "*mā mē yaθa* ***gaoš drafšō*** *āsitō vārəma caire fraša frayantu tē maδō vərəzyanuhanhō jasəntu pairi*" (Yasna 10.14). In this context, it is "rather forced, and not very apt for the larger context" to translate *drafša-* as 'flag, banner' (ibid., p. 108).[10] Apparently, this contextual meaning of *drafša-* is the condition of Mayrhofer (ibid.) to trace back original meanings of also Av. *drafša-* to PIE. **dreb-* 'to tremble, quiver' (< **der*-3 'to run') + **-s-* (**dreb-s-*).

Cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* (original meanings) and cluster *-fš-* of Av. *drafša-* (original meanings) traced back to PIE. **dreb-* (< **der*-3) + **-s-* (viz. **-so-* > *-sa-*) is from 'original *ps*'.

5. Conclusion

Origin of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from PIE. **dherebh-* (Pok. 1959, p. 257) / **dhrebh-so-* (Mayrhofer, 1963, pp. 71-72) / reconstructed **dhrabzha-* (Uhlenbeck, 1898/1899, p. 131) is 'analogical original *ps*' alternating with 'analogical *ps*'; unknown origin is unmotivated. Cluster *-bzh-* in the reconstructed **dhrabzha-* from **dhrebh-* / **dherebh-* implies **dhrebh-so-*, and it is obtained with the activation of the Bartholomae's Law: in an environment 'aspirate *-bh-* + *-s-*' (= **dhre**<u>**bh-s**</u>*o-*) the aspiration goes to the last element where it is preserved in Skr. (= **dhra*<u>***bzh***</u>*a-*), lost in Ir. And, in OInd., the group *-bž-* (following the group *-bzh-*) was replaced by *-ps-* (= analogical change), as it is the case with Skr. *dipsa-* 'seek to deceive' (< *di-d****bh-s****a-*) (cf. Kellens, ibid.). Question is: From which model was taken over cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' (< **dhre****bh-s****o-*)? Answer should be traced in the **motive** (**reason**) of the analogical change. In circumstances in which Skr. *drapsá-* means also 'banner', there is **no** motive for the same Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' to take over cluster *-ps-* from Skr. *dipsa-* 'seek to deceive' with an unknown model from which its cluster *-ps-* was taken over (or, eventually, from another unknown model). Therefrom, if Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' is from **dhrebh-so-*, then the motivated model from which its cluster *-ps-* was taken over is Skr. *dra****ps****á-* '**banner**'. But this most reasonable solution for the origin of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop' from **dhrebh-so-* implies that primarily has evolved meaning 'banner' of Skr. *drapsá-* (by default, from **dre****p****-* 'to cut' + ****-s-*** = 'original *ps*'), secondarily its meaning 'drop' (*sic!*) (firstly must be the model, in order that the given element /of the model/ could be 'taken over by…' /= analogical change/). This implication contradicts the most attested meaning of Skr. *drapsá-*, viz. 'drop', thus it excludes any possibility that the primary meaning of this word was 'banner'.

[9] In parallel with arguments of Flattery (ibid., pp. 03-102).

[10] Translation of Bartholomae (ibid.): "Nicht sollen sie mir beliebing wie das **Stierbanner** [emphases added] sich einherbewegen, (wenn) sie (dich) geniessen; stracks vorwärts sollen sie gehen, (die) sich an dir begeistern; mit energischen Schaffendrang sollen sies ich einstellen". Translation of Schwartz (ibid.): "*May they (your intoxications), besetting me at their own impulse, not move me about as the **trembling of the cow** [emphasis added]. May your intoxications come forth clear(ly); may they arrive bringing straightness of mind".

Meaning ‘drop’ of Skr. *drapsá-* from PIE. **dherebh-* (Pok. 1959, p. 257) / **dhrebh-so-* (Mayrhofer, 1963, pp. 71-72) / **dhrabzha-* (Uhlenbeck, 1898/1899, p. 131), meaning ‘banner’ of Skr. *drapsá-* and Av. *drafša-* from PIE. **drep-* (< **der-*4 ‘to cut off’) (Pok., ibid., p. 211) is an old etymology of this word. An abundance of evidence brings conclusion that Skr. *drapsá-* and Av. *drafša-* are from PIE. **dreb-* ‘to tremble, quiver’ (< **der-*3 ‘to run’) + **-s-* (cf. Flattery-Schwartz, ibid.; Schwartz, ibid., p. 110; Mayrhofer, 1992, pp. 754-755), origin of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* (original meanings) and of cluster *-fš-* of Av. *drafša-* (original meanings) from ‘original *ps*’. And there are plenty of still **unelaborated yet resolvable** issues implied in the derivation of clusters *-ps-* and *-fš-* of these two forms from PIE. **dreb-s-* (Mayrhofer, ibid., p. 754), i.e., from **drab-sa-* (Schwartz, ibid.).

The difficult ‘analogical original *ps*’ / ‘analogical *ps*’ in the origin of cluster *-ps-* of Skr. *drapsá-* ‘drop’ from PIE. **dherebh-* / **dhrebh-so-* / **dhrabzha-* is also one of the introductory topics that reaffirms the origin of Av. *drafša-* and Skr. *drapsá-* from PIE. **dreb-* ‘to tremble, quiver’ (< **der-*3 ‘to run’) (+ **-s-*). Origin of Av. *drafša-* and Skr. *drapsá-* from PIE. **drep-* (< **der-*4) ‘to cut’ obstructs their clear origin; in its last consequence, it poses doubts on their traceability to the Indo-European. As such, Av. *drafša-* and Skr. *drapsá-* from PIE. **drep-* (< **der-*4) ‘to cut’ (+ **-s-*) is an unfortunate solution, which, willingly or unwillingly, returns us to Skr. *drapsá-* ‘drop’ from the problematic **dherebh-* / **dhrebh-* / **dhrebh-so-* / **dhrabzha-*.

References:

Beekes, R. 1988. *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan*. Leiden: Brill.

Beekes, R. 2011. *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Flattery, D. & Schwartz, M. 1989. *Haoma and Harmaline*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Geldner, K. 1951-1957. *Der Rig-Veda* I. Cambridge Mass.

Geldner, K. 1877. *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*. Tübingen.

Gonda, J. 1975. *Vedic Literature*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Hoffmann, K. & Forssman, B. 1996. *Avestische Laut- Und Flexionslehre*. Innsburck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Jackson, W. 1892. *An Avesta Grammar in Comparison with Sanskrit*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

Kellnes, J. 1984. *Le Verbe Avestique*. Wiesbaden : Reichert.

Lubotsky, A. (ed.). 2007. *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary. A Revised Edition of Julius Pokorny’s Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. http://dgnhu.org/

Mayrhofer, M. 1963. *Kurzgefaßtes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Band II (*KEWA* II). Heidelberg: Winter.

Mayrhofer, M. 1992. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarianischen*. Band I. (*EWA* I). Heidelberg: Winter.

Pokorny, J. 1959. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Band I. (*IEW* I). Bern, Munich: A. Francke.

Renou, L. 1962. *Études Védiques et Pāṇinéenes*. Tome X (*EVP*, Vol. 10). Paris: E. de Boccard.

Renou, L. 1964a. *Études Védiques et* Pāṇinéenes. Tome XII (*EVP*, Vol. 12). Paris: E. de Boccard.

Renou, L. 1964b. *Études Védiques et Pāṇinéenes*. Tome XIII (*EVP* Vol. 13). Paris: E. de Boccard.

Schwartz, M. 1989. *Yasna* 10.14: Avestan *drafša-*. In: Flattery, D. & Schwartz, M. *Haoma and Harmaline*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Skjaervo, P. O. 2007. Old Iranian. In: Windfuhr, G. (ed.). *The Iranian languages*. London: Routledge.

Uhlenbeck, C. C. 1898/1899. *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache* (*KEWAS*). Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

Walde, A. & Pokorny, J. 1930. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. Band I (WP I). Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.

Walde, A. & Pokorny, J. 1927. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. Band II (WP II). Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.

Wolff, F. 1910. *Awesta, die heiligen Bücher des Parsen, übersetzt auf der Grundlage von Chr. Bartholomae's Altiranischen Wörterbuch*. Strasburg.